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A

SERMON

PREACH'D

Before the Right Honourable

THE

LORD-MAYOR,

THE

Aldermen and Citizens of *London*,

AT THE

CATHEDRAL Church of St. *Paul*,

On *Monday* the 30th of *Jan.* $170\frac{9}{10}$.

BEING

The ANNIVERSARY FAST for the *Martyrdom* of King CHARLES the First.

By *ANDREW SNAPE*, D.D.
Chaplain to his Grace the Duke of *Somerset*, and Rector of St. *Mary at Hill*.

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Garrard, Mayor.

Martis vii. *die Februarii*, 1709. *Annoq; Regni Reginæ Annæ, Magnæ Britanniæ, &c. Octavo.*

THis Court doth desire Dr. *Snape* to Print his Sermon, Preach'd at the Cathedral Church of St. *Paul*, before the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen and Citizens of this City, on *Monday* the Thirtieth of *January* last, being the Day of Humiliation for the Martyrdom of King *Charles* the First.

GIBSON.

1 KINGS, XXI. 9, 10.

Proclaim a Faſt, and ſet Naboth *on high among the People:*
And ſet Two Men, Sons of Belial, *before him, to bear Witneſs againſt him, ſaying, Thou didſt blaſpheme God and the King: and then carry him out and ſtone him, that he may die.*

THERE is ſcarce any one Inſtance of the ſhedding innocent Blood recorded in Holy Scripture which has not at ſome time or other been apply'd to the Occaſion of this Day's Solemnity, even that of our bleſſed Saviour not excepted, whoſe Steps we have with one Voice declar'd in the Service of the Church the bleſſed Martyr cheerfully to have follow'd. But here indeed it concerns us to tread warily. We can only affirm of the greateſt Saints and brighteſt Luminaries of the Church that they have made ſome faint Approaches toward that great Exemplar, without

2d Collect for the day.

preſuming to equal either the Merits or the Sufferings of any meer Man to thoſe of our crucify'd Redeemer: in all other Parallels there is leſs Danger of Exceſs, ſince moſt of 'em will be found, in many Circumſtances, to fall ſhort of the Fact committed on this Day.

Now altho' in ſuch a comparative way of arguing, where we ſingle out ſome remarkable Paſſage from the Records of paſt Ages, and adapt it, as far as it will naturally bear, to ſome After-Occurrence that has fall'n out nearer our own Times, it cannot be expected that both the Caſes ſhould be in all Reſpects exactly the ſame, without the leaſt Variation, yet when we can point out ſome of the principal and Maſter-Strokes of each of 'em which have a near Reſemblance of one another, when the Methods and Ways of Acting, the Motives and Inducements to it, with other concurrent Circumſtances, are the ſame; this may be enough to juſtify the Choice of the Subject, and make it ſerve at leaſt as a fair Introduction to the Matter in Debate.

I mention this, becauſe of one remarkable Diſagreement, which you muſt needs have been before-hand with me in obſerving, between the Caſe of *Naboth*, and that of this Day's *Royal Sufferer*, who as he had Liv'd the Ornament, ſo Died the *Martyr* of the *Engliſh* Church and Monarchy: And that is, that in the former of 'em,

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an innocent Subject was Murder'd by a wicked King (or at leaſt by his Inſtruments and Agents, not without his Approbation and Conſent, as appear'd by his ſubſequent Behaviour, in ſeizing his Inheritance, as well as by his own Confeſſion, when he ſubmitted to the Prophet's Charge, and humbled himſelf for it) whereas in the latter, a juſt and pious King was depriv'd at once of his Crown and Life by wicked and rebellious Subjects. But there are other Reſemblances between 'em, that will make Amends for this Diſparity. And therefore I ſhall proceed.

I. To draw a Parallel between the two Caſes, and ſhew what is common to 'em both.

II. To conſider the Nature and Conſequences of the Fact committed on this Day. And

III. I ſhall conclude with one or two Moral Reflections.

I. I am to draw a Parallel between the two Caſes, and ſhow what is common to 'em both. Here then we may obſerve, that the Perſons compar'd were both good Men: Both were Murder'd with a pretended Show of Juſtice, and with Religious Solemnities: Both for the ſame Cauſe, becauſe they would not part with *the Inheritance of their Fathers*: Neither of 'em ſuf-

ſuffer'd ſingly; but the Enemies of each extended their Malice to the whole Race of 'em.

Firſt I ſay they were both good Men. That *Naboth* was ſo, we may very fairly conjecture from his Behaviour in the Matter of the Vineyard; and from the Severity of God's Wrath toward *Ahab* and his Family, for unjuſtly putting him to Death. For altho' the Murder even of a wicked Man, either by falſe Accuſation, or ſecret Treachery, is a very heinous and deteſtable Thing; (and that Life that is Forfeited to Juſtice by a thouſand real Crimes, yet if innocent *quoad hoc*, and taken away by wicked Subornation, on weak and inſufficient Evidence, for that which is not a Crime, or which was not committed, will derive a Sentence of Blood-guiltineſs, nay of the Shedding innocent Blood, on the Contrivers and Actors in ſuch an Execution;) yet we cannot ſuppoſe, that this is, in ſo exceſſive a Degree, provoking, or that it entails the Divine Vengeance on ſo many Generations, as when the Perſon Condemn'd is eminent for Piety and Vertue.

If indeed we were to judge of Things by their firſt Appearance, the Carriage of *Naboth* toward *Ahab*, in denying him his Vineyard, might ſeem to have been very Churliſh and Undutiful, eſpecially when offer'd a *better Vineyard* in Exchange for it, or an equivolent in *Mony*. And the Kings condeſcending way of Addreſs, when he

he thus expreſſes himſelf, *If it ſhall ſeem good to thee*, and *if it pleaſe thee*; might be thought to have deſerv'd a better Anſwer than, *I will not give thee my Vineyard.*

But we muſt conſider on the other Hand, that the Thing which the King deſir'd, was abſolutely Unlawful, and expreſsly forbid by the Command of God; the ſmalleſt Ceremony of whoſe Appointment could not be diſpens'd with. We may learn from *Lev.* 25. and *Num.* 36. how ſtraitly the *Jews* were enjoyn'd to look upon the Inheritance of their Fathers as Sacred: The very numerical Lands and Poſſeſſions were to be continually preſerv'd in the reſpective Families to which they were allotted, and the preſent Occupants had no Power of totally alienating 'em, but only till they could be redeem'd by one of their Kin, and not ſo long as that, if a Year of *Jubilee* ſhould firſt happen, when all Things were to be reſtor'd as at the beginning: And even that temporary Alienation was not to be made, but under the Preſſure of extreme Neceſſity, which it ſeems was not *Naboth*'s Caſe. So that he look'd on the Propoſal, as a Thing he could not with a ſafe Conſcience comply with, and therefore ſpeaks, you ſee, with ſome Abhorrence of it, (tho' not altogether ſo bluntly as *Ahab* repeated it to his Wife) *The Lord forbid it me, that I ſhou'd give the Inheritance of my Fathers unto thee.* From this I ſay, and the o-

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ther Conſideration before-mention'd, we may reaſonably infer that *Naboth* was a Man of Uprightneſs and Integrity; tho' the Scripture has diſtinguiſh'd him by no other Title, but that of *Naboth the Jeſraelite.*

But we have better Arguments than bare Conjectures and remote Concluſions to induce us to believe that our *Martyr'd Sovereign* was highly deſerving of this Character, of which we have all the Proof and Demonſtration that 'tis poſſible for one Man to have of the Integrity of another.

'Tis true, God alone is an infallible Judge and Diſcerner of the Heart; *he* only beholds with an unerring Eye the Uprightneſs or Obliquity of Human Thoughts and Intentions; and therefore none but he can abſolutely and deciſively pronounce of any Perſon, that he is either Holy and Sincere, or Wicked and Prophane.

But we Men muſt form our Judgment from the outward Actions, and whereſoever we find a regular Conduct, where all the Duties to God and Man, as far as we can obſerve, are exactly and punctually diſcharg'd, where there are no viſible Infractions of Divine or Human Laws, or none but ſuch as may be imputed to Human Frailty; we are to look upon a Perſon ſo qualified as a Man of Probity and Vertue.

This is no more than is due in *common Juſtice.* But *Chriſtian Charity* will oblige us yet far-

farther, even where there are ſome ſuſpicious Appearances, if the Character of the Perſon be in other Reſpects unblemiſh'd ; to err (if we muſt err) on the better Side, and make a favourable Conſtruction.

This is Spoken at large, and not that there is any Occaſion for this laſt Suppoſal, with Regard to the Subject I am upon : There being nothing in the Behaviour of that *excellent Prince*, that has ſo much as an indirect Aſpect, nothing I mean that can affect his general Character.

When I affirm this I conſider him chiefly as a private Chriſtian, for in his *Royal Capacity* indeed, as we find him repreſented, by the deſigning Artifice of his malicious and reſtleſs Enemies, there are faulty Appearances enough. And yet the very Perſons, who thus induſtriouſly blackned and defam'd him, and loaded him with ſo many unjuſt Reproaches on the Account of his *Regal Adminiſtration*; (which can never be ſo Excellent, as to give no Handle to the *Factious*, the *Guilty*, and the *Diſappointed*, to cenſure and malign it, and will be always liable to Miſconſtruction, the Reaſons of State being ſo Myſterious) yet cou'd never charge on him any groſs Misbehaviour in Point of Moral Duty, any one habitual Vice, or indulg'd Paſſion, tho' they wanted not Means of prying into his moſt ſecret Commerce and private Correſpondence, and nothing, we know, is ſo quick-ſighted as Malice.

His Devotion to God was regular and conſtant both in publick and in private, and that, not cold and formal, but with an ardent Zeal and enflam'd Affection. In the midſt of the perplexing Cares that encompaſs a Throne, and with which *his* Throne was peculiarly beſet; he always found Leiſure for the Exerciſes of Religion: He was never ſo dazl'd with the Splendor of an *Earthly* Crown, as not to prefer before it a *Heavenly* and *Immortal* One: Nor was he ever unmindful of this important Truth, that as *his* Subjects were accountable to *him*; (tho' in the End they quite inverted that Order) ſo was he himſelf to render an Account of *his* Actions at a greater Tribunal before the King of Kings.

In the midſt of the higheſt Plenty, and all the Means of gratifying a ſenſual Appetite that *Royal Affluence* cou'd Adminiſter, he was remarkably Temperate, Chaſt and Sober. His Conjugal Affection has been even imputed as a *Crime*. He was an inviolable Obſerver of his Matrimonial Vow, a Vertue not *too common* in the World, a very rare one indeed in *Princes*. Nor was he leſs eminent for Clemency and Juſtice, and a tender Regard for the Welfare of his Subjects.

And if we conſider him in the laſt Scene of his Life, in his Behaviour both before, and at the Scaffold; we may obſerve an admirable Compoſition of Chriſtian Meekneſs, and Royal Grandeur, how under the extremeſt Preſſures he wou'd never be prevail'd with, to do any thing un-

unbecoming either the *Christian* or the *King*.

As he had Liv'd, he Died a true Professor of the purest reform'd Faith: And his Character has this Advantage, even from the *reproachful* manner of his Death; that his last Declaration so publickly made in the Face of the World, was not capable of being denied, or misrepresented. Whereas had they dispatch'd him by Poyson or Assassination, or any other way of Murder, that had carried less of Pomp and Ostentation; the Accusation had been obvious, that he Died a *Papist*, which his Enemies would not have fail'd to have reported, and his Friends could not so convincingly have disprov'd.

His admirable and instructing Legacy to his Children, his Praying for his Murderers, his patient Resignation to the Will of God, and indeed all the several Parts of his Deportment at that dismal Juncture; do conspire to raise in us the highest Esteem and Veneration for his Memory. And sure we may allow to one who was endu'd with so large a Share of Vertues, with so inconsiderable a Mixture of Defects, the Character and Denomination of a good Man. I mean, in a qualified Sense, for, in an absolute Sense, we know who has told us, there is none good but God. And this is one Point in which *Naboth* and he agree.

The next is, that they both were Murder'd with a pretended Show of Justice, and with Religious Solemnities.

In order to *Naboth*'s Murder there was a *Faſt Proclaim'd*, *a ſolemn Aſſembly call'd*, a formal Accuſation forg'd, and ſuborn'd Witneſſes produc'd. The principally intended Wickedneſs was thus uſher'd in with a preparatory Combination of other Crimes; thus cloſely was the Train of Miſcheif laid, by the Contrivance of wicked *Jezebel*; that *Hypocriſy*, *Perjury* and *falſe Judgment* ſhould be the Prelude and Introduction to *Murder*.

And was not this exactly the Caſe of our *Royal Sufferer?* Was there not a Day of *Humiliation* appointed? Was not the nefarious Buſineſs in Agitation dignified with the ſpecious Title of *the Lord's Work?* Did not the cheif Authors of that Cruelty pretend to be *ſeeking the Lord*, whilſt their Inſtruments were embruing their Hands in the Blood of the *Lord's Anointed*.

How horribly did they profane the Name of God, whilſt they invok'd him, as Acceſſary to their Bloody Machinations, and beſought him to ſtrengthen their Hands in that diabolical Work! How wretchedly did they pervert his Word, which teaches all Obedience and Reverence to Princes; whilſt even from thoſe ſacred Writings they would pretend to juſtify not only the higheſt Inſolence and Contempt, but even the actual Murder of his *Lawful Vice-gerent!* To how baſe Purpoſes were the Ordinances of Religion proſtituted, whilſt they faſted for the Succeſs of that impious Act, which it requires

a perpetual Faſt to deprecate the Guilt of: And *made long Prayers* only *for a Pretenſe*, when they were making a Royal Widow, and devouring Houſes and Lands, ſtately Palaces, and Princely Revenues with inſatiable Greedineſs! How ill did it accord with their profeſt Purity and Godlineſs, after they had ſtrain'd at ſo many Gnats, to ſwallow ſuch a Camel!

Could they, in Reality, have been held by any Religious Ties, they would have paid ſome Regard, if not to the general Precepts of Obedience, if not to the former Oaths of Allegiance they had taken; yet at leaſt to their own *Solemn League and Covenant*, that precious Teſt of Diſloyalty, they ſo eagerly contended for, and which they had contriv'd as a Snare for others, whilſt, thro' the Deadneſs of their Conſciences, they were unreſtrain'd themſelves.

Even *that Engagement*, rebellious as it was, provided for the Security of the King's Perſon, which they were bound, by all that was Sacred, to protect and defend; and conſequently the putting him to Death, beſides all the other bad Circumſtances, was an Act of the moſt *deliberate Perjury* that ever was committed.

But as if ſomething was ſtill wanting to fill up the Meaſure of their complicated Impiety; they added Hypocriſy to the reſt, gave a Religious Turn to their execrable Proceedings, and in the Depth of all this Miſchief, pretended a Zeal for God's Glory, and to have nothing ſo much

much at Heart, as promoting the Purity of his Worſhip.

Nor was *Piety* the only falſe Pretence, they wou'd make a ſhow of *Juſtice* too: They would ſeem to do that by *Law*, which was an open Violation of all the Laws both of God and Man. To this End was erected a Mock-Tribunal of Self-created Judges, who by Vertue of that uſurp'd and imaginary Authority, preſum'd to ſet before 'em as a Criminal, their unqueſtionably rightful Sovereign. They had falſe Witneſſes, *Sons of Belial*, ready at hand to have born their Teſtimony againſt him, and to have charg'd him with ſuch Things, as he not only, in Fact, was clear of, but which he was not capable of committing.

Naboth indeed might, 'tho' he did not, have * Curs'd *God and the King*. There were really ſuch Offences, tho' there was no ſuch Offender. Whereas in the Caſe of our Martyr'd Prince, the Crime its ſelf was as Fictitious as the Perſonal Charge. He not only was not, but cou'd not be guilty of that Treaſon they accus'd him of, ſince by our known Conſtitution, it was againſt himſelf only that any Treaſon cou'd be committed. We find in no Records the mention of ſuch a Crime, as the *Leſe-Majeſty of the People*, nor that the cruelleſt Tyrants were ever

* So the Hebrew Verb ſhould be rendred here, as it is elſewhere. The *Arabick* and *Chaldee* expreſs it by two different Words. Thou didſt *Blaſpheme* God, and *Curſe* the King.

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tax'd with being *Rebels* to their own Subjects. 'Tis possible for 'em to Misgovern, to subvert Fundamentals, to abuse their Trust, or to forsake it, and drive the People to a Necessity of transferring their Allegiance (of which our own Times have furnish'd us with an Instance:) But they can never be guilty of *Treason*, nor suffer the Punishment of *Traytors*.

When therefore the good King disown'd this illegal Judicature, and refus'd (as he well might) to Plead his Cause before 'em; they still went on with a Mask of Justice, and in Mock-Representation of a legal Process, to Sentence and Condemn him, and Sign a Bloody Warrant for his Execution.

Another Thing in which his Case does nearly resemble that of *Naboth* is, that they both were Murder'd for the same Cause, because they wou'd not part with the *Inheritance of their Fathers*.

Naboth might have compounded for his *Life*, by relinquishing his *Vineyard*, nay he might have had an equivalent too. But as he conceiv'd himself bound in Conscience, religiously to preserve his original Patrimony, he was under an unhappy Necessity of making such a Refusal, as brought him to that untimely End.

And the Desire of his *Inheritance* was the Motive that induc'd our unnatural Country-men, to take away the Life of their Lawful King. The Inherent-Rights and Prerogtiaves of the

Crown,

Crown, which his Royal Predeceſſors had unconteſtably enjoy'd, thro' a Succeſſion of many Ages, were one after another diſputed with *him*, and in the End violently extorted. What he cou'd depart from, with ſafety to his Conſcience and Honour, he gave 'em, by a voluntary Conſent, to preſerve the Quiet of his Kingdom; but when he perceiv'd that nothing wou'd content 'em; (their Demands ſtill riſing, as his Conceſſions were larger) he adher'd with a ſteddy Reſolution to thoſe Branches of Power, which he judg'd to be inſeparable from the Royal Dignity, and parted with them and his Life together.

Before they had thus compaſs'd their wicked Ends, and were become Maſters of all without Controul, whilſt there was yet the Appearance and Shadow of Kingly Government, and nothing cou'd be valid without the Royal Sanction; even then, tho' they left him the *Name*, they arrogated to themſelves the *Power*. With what repeated Importunities did they Daily tear from him his moſt truſted and faithful Servants, under the Character of *Evil Counſellors*, and thruſt into his Preſence and Councils, their own Mercenary Creatures, Men of notorious Faction and Diſloyalty, the profeſt Haters both of his Perſon and Authority, as the only Men to be *confided* in! How juſtly might he have anſwer'd their haughty and unreaſonable Demands (for ſuch in Effect were their *humble Petitions*)

titions) in the Words of the wiſeſt of Princes (when a very improper Application was made to him, in behalf of one, who had ſo little Pretenſion to *Favour*, that *Impunity* was more than he had deſerv'd) *Ask for him the Kingdom alſo.* 1 *Kings* 2. 22.

They wanted, in ſhort, ſuch a Power as ſhould create Dependencies on *them*, and tie faſt to their Service ſuch Inſtruments of Miſchief as they ſhould have Occaſion to make uſe of. And not to deſcend to all the ſeveral Branches of Royalty, 'twas Dominion and Government they aim'd at; an Affectation of Lording and Ruling it, was the real Ground of their ſeditious Outcries (as the Event ſufficiently ſhow'd) however they varniſh'd over their Deſigns with more plauſible Pretences.

Once more, we may obſerve another Reſemblance between theſe two Innocent Perſons, in that neither of 'em ſuffer'd *ſingly*, but the Enemies of each extended their Malice to the *whole Race* of 'em. Tho' the Hiſtory now before us is ſilent as to *Naboth*'s *Family*, and only relates what befel him in his own *Perſon*; yet we may learn from 2 *Kings* 9. 26. what became of 'em. *Surely I have ſeen Yeſterday the Blood of* Naboth, *and the Blood of his Sons, ſaith the Lord, and I will requite thee in this Plat.*

It cannot, I confeſs, be equally affirm'd, with relation to our Martyr'd Sovereign, that the Blood of *his Sons* too calls for Vengeance, *that* only Stream of Royal Blood having been Spilt,

that ran within his own Veins. But tho' they eſcap'd with Life, (no Thanks to the Uſurpers of their Inheritance that they did ſo) yet were they deveſted of their juſt Rights, which none of 'em had then done any thing to forfeit, driven into Exile, branded with Names of Infamy and Reproach, and declar'd *Traytors* and *Rebels* themſelves, as well as their Abettors and Adherents.

Having ſaid thus much by way of Parallel, give me leave to conclude the Compariſon between theſe two Innocents, as I firſt introduc'd it, with taking Notice of one other material Difference between the two Hiſtories. *Naboth*'s Murderer, tho' *above* the Reach of *human* Juſtice, ſaw, and confeſs'd, and bewail'd his Guilt, and humbled himſelf ſo effectually before God, that the Vengeance he requir'd for that *innocent Blood* (for *innocent Blood* will be aveng'd, nor is it any Security to us, that it was not ſhed by *us*, or in *our Days*) was not immediately taken, but poſtpon'd till another Generation.

But the *Royal Murderers* ſhow'd *no* Remorſe. The *Regicides* of *this Day* continu'd to the laſt Inflexible and Obdurate: Their Hearts were ſo hardned by the juſt Judgment of God for their accumulated Wickedneſs; that even thoſe of 'em who, by his peculiar Providence, were reſerv'd for *publick Juſtice*, were ſo far from any Signs

Signs of Repentance, that they even *Gloried* in the inhuman Deed. I come now in the

II. Place to conſider the *Nature and Conſequences* of the Fact committed on this Day. The *Nature* of it may be in a great Meaſure judg'd, from what has been already ſaid. But farther to convince us of the enormous Guilt of it, let us take it, as attended with the following Circumſtances.

For a Sovereign and *Hereditary Monarch* (it was then an *Hereditary Monarchy* ſure) after many other previous Outrages and Affronts, to be brought to the Bar, as a *common Malefactor*, and that before a pretended *High-Court* compos'd of his own *Subjects*, ſurrounded with a Guard of his own *Soldiers*, to be Arraign'd of *Treaſon*, to be Sentenc'd to *Death*, and Executed on a *Scaffold*, in his *Capital City*, and before the Walls of his own *Palace*: And all this to gratify the Ambition or Revenge of a few turbulent Spirits, whilſt a far greater Number, who diſapprov'd of that rigorous Extremity, cou'd yet be contented to ſtand by as unconcern'd Spectators, and ſuffer the bloody Tragedy to be Acted, without offering to interpoſe, or ſtirring to the Reſcue of their Prince: The Fact I ſay thus circumſtantiated, is not to be equal'd in any Hiſtory, by which Majeſty its ſelf, as well as the Perſon of the King, was ſo outragiouſly inſulted.

And that all this ſhould be done in a Kingdom, *by the undoubted and fundamental Laws* whereof (I ſpeak in the very Words of a Law, made indeed ſince the horrid Fact, but made, not to conſtitute, but recognize this *Eſſential Prerogative*, as antecedently inherent in the Crown, that) *neither the Peers of the Realm, nor the Commons, nor both together, in Parliament, or out of Parliament, nor the People Collectively, nor Repreſentatively, nor any other Perſons whatſoever, ever had, have, or ought to have any coercive Power over the Perſons of the Kings of the Realm.*

Stat. 12. *Car.* 2. Ch. 30. §. 7.

And if no ſuch Authority was lodg'd with the *whole Body* of Subjects, how much leſs cou'd it be claim'd by that *inconſiderable Remnant* of one Houſe, which without the Concurrence of the other, and whilſt the far greater Part of its own Members were kept out by Force of Arms; had the Confidence to uſurp the venerable Name of *Parliament*.

Never was that *happy Part* of our *Conſtitution*, that *Neceſſary Fence* againſt *Arbitrary Rule*, and Bulwark of Engliſh Laws and Liberties, ſo reproachfully perverted. Never were the People of *England* ſo untruly ſaid to be repreſented: which they no more were, by the corrupt Refuſe of that Aſſembly; than the *Catholic Church* was fairly repreſented in the pretended *Council* of *Trent*, where only thoſe cou'd be admitted, who were the known Favorers of the *Pope's Supremacy*, and who wou'd be ſure to do his Work effectually. But

But let us ſuppoſe they had a Power over his Perſon, and withal that he had miſemploy'd his Regal Adminiſtration as much as ſome have repreſented him to have done; let us take all for Truth that inveterate Malice, or factious Prejudice has endeavour'd to faſten on him; even theſe Provocations were far from ſufficient to juſtify ſo extravagant a Remedy as the ſhedding of his Blood.

Much leſs when they liv'd under ſo mild a Government, and a Prince ſo tender of the Rights and Liberties of his Subjects as he naturally was in his own Temper.

I pretend not to deny that, even in *his* Reign, there were ſome juſt Cauſes of Complaint, ſome real Grievances, ſome unwarrantable Impoſitions and unjuſtifiable Demands. Princes are but Men, and fallible like other Men, nor is it any great Wonder if the beſt of 'em miſtake the Extent of their Prerogative, when perſuaded into an undue Opinion of it, by thoſe that ſhou'd adviſe 'em better.

But how eaſily might thoſe Greivances have been ſet right in Time, had not the rough and undutiful Manner in which the Redreſs of 'em was ſought, made him believe for a time there were none that needed it. But when once he was convinc'd of their Reality, how willingly did he redreſs 'em all, and more than all, that cou'd with any ſhow of Juſtice be complain'd of, or be thought to deſerve the Name of Hardſhips!

ſhips! How often might Things have been brought to a better Temper, and the unhappy Breach accommodated, had not their own Obſtinacy prevented it, whom no Degree of Royal Condeſcenſion would ſatisfie or appeaſe; but his Blood they *would have*, and his Blood they *had*: The Guilt whereof has ever ſince lay heavy on this ſinful Nation, and even now calls for our deepeſt Humiliation, to deprecate that Vengeance of Almighty God, which might juſtly be inflicted on the *remote Poſterity* of the Actors in that *unnatural Parricide.*

He has abundantly teſtified his Diſpleaſure at it, by many bad and miſcheivous *Conſequences* it has produc'd, ſome of which we ſtill ſmart under, tho' not the firſt I am going to mention, which is

The Confuſion of thoſe Times that immediately enſu'd. The miſerable State of *Anarchy* to which this unhappy Country was reduc'd, after the Extirpation of the *Royal Family*, may be a Warning to all querulous Innovators, who are never contented with the preſent State of Things. They compaſs'd their Wiſh at laſt, and had the Satisfaction of ſeeing both *Kingly and Epiſcopal Government* at once aboliſh'd, and themſelves, (as they ſuppos'd) in a State of *religious and civil Liberty.*

But did they enjoy that *Liberty* any otherwiſe than in Name? Did it not coſt 'em much dearer to maintain their *new Lords* in their ill-

gotten

gotten *Tyranny*, than ever it had done to ſupply the Exigencies of their *lawful Prince?* Was the Freedom of *Parliament*, and Right of *Elections* more inviolably kept? Were they leſs under the Terror of an *armed Force?* Were there fewer *Executions*, *Fines* and *Impriſonments?* Was the Courſe of the *Law* more free and undiſturb'd, or *Juſtice* more equitably and impartially Adminiſter'd? Were the *Taxes* more moderate, the *Loans* of Money leſs conſtrain'd, or the *Public Faith* (when no Body knew what or where the *Public* was) a better Security for what was lent, than before this violent Convulſion of the State.

No. The Reverſe of all this is notoriouſly true, if there be any Truth in Hiſtory. They dream't and rav'd of Oppreſſion before, but they were then oppreſt in Earneſt. They were before chaſtis'd with imaginary Whips, but then with real Scorpions. And ſurely it was a juſt Judgment of God upon 'em for their Inconſtancy of Temper, and Eagerneſs for a Change, that when once they had ſhaken off their juſt Allegiance, and choſe new Maſters for themſelves, they were afterwards forc'd to be perpetually changing, and cou'd find no Power that was able to protect 'em long, but ſaw more Turns and Revolutions in the Compaſs of a few Months, than had happen'd in a Thouſand Years before.

New

New Schemes and Models of Government were daily Faſhion'd, ſome of which died in *Embryo*, others made a Blaze for a ſhort Time, but no ſooner had they turn'd themſelves to the new-ſtarted Light, in hopes to be warm'd and directed by it, but the Airy Meteor diſappear'd.

'Twas a common Thing then to ſee Servants on Horſeback, whilſt Princes walk'd on Foot, to ſee the meaneſt of the People in the higheſt Places; and one might have ſeen *Jotham*'s Parable exactly verified, when inſtead of the *Fatneſs of the Olive*, and the *Fruitfulneſs of the Vine*; the Supreme Dominion was inveſted in the deſpicable, the uſeleſs, the hurtful *Brambles.*

Then as to *Spirituals.* Did the *Authors* of thoſe Troubles find their Account in 'em? Were they able at laſt quietly to Eſtabliſh their own Way of Worſhip, and had they not many contending Rivals? Were not their own Complaints againſt the Hierarchy, of *taking too much upon 'em*, *impoſing* on the *Lord's People*, and depriving 'em of their *Chriſtian Liberty*, return'd upon themſelves? Was there a greater Advancement of Piety, whilſt the *Sacrament* was rarely Adminiſter'd, the Catechizing of Youth exceedingly neglected, and almoſt all Religion reſolv'd into *Hearing?* Was there a greater *Liberty of Conſcience*, when the prevailing Sect for the Time Condemn'd the *Toleration* of the reſt as *Antichriſtian?*

——————*En quo Diſcordia Cives*
Perduxit miſeros !

Theſe were the *Bleſſed* Fruits of *Diſcord* and *Rebellion*. *This* was the Price of over-turning a legally and peacably ſettled Conſtitution.

As another bad Effect (but God be prais'd that's over too) of this Day's Cruelty, may be reckon'd the imminent Danger we were in, not many Years ſince, of the Return of *Popiſh Superſtition* into this Nation, to which, in all human Probability, the greateſt Part of it had in a little time relaps'd, had not Providence defeated the Deſigns that were form'd againſt our Holy Religion, by the late *Happy Revolution*.

That very Danger, I ſay, of *Popery*, may be imputed, in its Original, to thoſe who, by Baniſhing the *Royal Progeny*, and obliging 'em to fly for ſhelter to the Court of a *Popiſh Prince*, expos'd 'em to the utmoſt Temptation of changing the Religion of the Country they had left, for that of the Place where they were Entertain'd. It did, in Fact, ſo happen, that they were earneſtly ſolicited to that Effect, and one of 'em, we know, (and we had like to have known it at too dear a Rate) unhappily compli-ed with the Temptation.

But there are ſome ill Conſequences of that great Rebellion, that ſtill affect us, and particularly the unhappy Diviſions that reign among us. 'Tis a ſad and deplorable Thing indeed, that Men who are Profeſſors of the ſame Religion, who have the ſame Political Obligations, who are bound by all the Ties both of Intereſt and Duty to direct their Deſigns and Actions to the ſame End, ſhould notwithſtanding, fly into ſuch oppoſite Extremes, and brand each other with ſuch opprobrious Names.

Such Jealouſies and Surmiſes, ſuch *Names of Diſtinction*, and forming of *Parties*, were the fatal Beginnings of that *Inteſtine War*, which depopulated and laid Waſt this flouriſhing Kingdom, and ended in the *Murder* of the *Sovereign*, and the total overthrow of all orderly Government both in Church and State. And that Spirit of Diviſion which then began to Reign has never ſince been totally ejected.

Add to this, that many looſe Principles as to *Government*, were then imbib'd, of which it were much to be wiſh'd, there were no Tincture ſtill remaining.

And (which is worſt of all) it is too certain that the Pretences to a more than ordinary Sanctity, and the great Apperance of Godlineſs in ſuch Numbers of Men, who yet, when the Mask was off, were found to be wicked to the laſt Degree, and to have acted by no Principles

but

but *Intereſt* and *Ambition*; gave an unhappy Diſguſt to many Obſervers of their Conduct, againſt all that ſavor'd of Piety and Goodneſs, and rais'd an unjuſt ſuſpicion in 'em, that all Religion was counterfeit, that whoever went under the Character of a *devout Perſon*, was only acting a Part, in order to deceive. Thus were the Seeds of *Atheiſm* and *Irreligion* ſown, which have ſince thriven but too well, and yielded a very ungracious Encreaſe.

1. To the ſame Cauſe too we may aſcribe almoſt all our Differences in Religion. We can call upon all the Perſuaſions but one, who enjoy the Benefit of the *Toleration*, (and may it ever be enjoy'd by Conſciences truly tender) to look back to thoſe unhappy Times for their firſt Original, and ſee, in the midſt of how much Licenciouſneſs and Diſorder they were propagated, and began to ſpread.

I ſhall only crave your farther Patience, while I apply what has been ſaid in two ſhort moral Reflections, both which I ſhall take from the concluding Prayer in the Service for the Day, where we beſeech God, *that neither the ſplendor of any thing that is great, nor the Conceit of any thing that is good in us, may any ways withdraw our Eyes from looking on our ſelves as ſinful Duſt and Aſhes.*

1. Then, from the tragical Event of this Day, we may obſerve the *Uncertainty* of all *Hu-*

man State and Grandeur. Of how ſhort Continuance, and conſequently of how little Value is the moſt glittering Pomp, that attracts our vain Eyes, and ſtrikes us with Admiration! Of how ſlippery a Tenure muſt *leſſer* Dignities and Honours be, if *Majeſty* it ſelf be ſo inſecure! How little is the Condition of Princes to be envied, who have often Occaſion to envy the Quiet and Repoſe of the meaneſt of their Subjects, who can Sleep ſecurely, whilſt *they* are waking and caring for 'em! They are equally expos'd to Pain and Sickneſs, to Infirmity and Diſeaſes; they lye as open to a natural, and much *more* open to a violent Death. *Plots* and *Conſpiracies*, *Aſſaſſinations* and *Poyſonings* are Accidents peculiar to the *Royal Liſt* of Mortality, and ſeldom bring a Subject to his End.

Nor is the *Fame* of Princes leſs liable to Injury, than their *Perſons*. Calumny dares even aſſault the *Throne*, and fears not to trample on *Regal Sepulchers*. There is none ſo great and inacceſſible, as to be out of the Reach of that intruding Monſter; who will blacken and ſully the cleareſt Fame, turn the brighteſt Ornaments and Beauties into Deformities, detract from the moſt Heroical and Princely Vertues, and tranſform, to the Appearance of ſuch as ſee by her Glaſs, a good *Joſiah* into a wicked *Jeroboam*. And as the moſt conſpicuous *Greatneſs* is no Preſervative

ſervative againſt the common Calamities of the World, ſo neither

2. Is the moſt eminent *Goodneſs*. Tryals and Afflictions are the common Lot of Mortality, and every Man, more or leſs muſt ſuſtain his Share of 'em. In this, the Righteous and Wicked fare alike, nor can a Man judge of Love or Hatred by all that is before him.

There are indeed many Paſſages of Scripture, that encourage a good Man to expect even the Bleſſings of this Life, and ordinarily Speaking, he does actually enjoy 'em, at leaſt in a contented Mind and quiet Conſcience, which comprehends 'em all. But we are to look upon theſe Paſſages, as moral Obſervations, not as abſolute Promiſes: That according to the moſt rational, moſt probable, moſt natural Event, ſuch temporal Bleſſings would be allotted to good Men, not that each particular good Man ſhould be poſſeſs'd of every one of 'em, for that would be in ſome Meaſure, to have his Portion here.

All this is beſide our Contract with God. The Reward there ſtipulated, is the *Kingdom of Heaven*, and if he does think fit to *add theſe Things unto us*, and to enlarge our Portion, by the Acceſſion of ſome external good Things, 'tis over and above our covenanted Recompence.

But

But whatever the Lot may be of a righteous Man here on *Earth*, he will be ſure of his Reward in a *better Place*, in thoſe Regions of endleſs Bliſs and Glory, where the *Bleſſed Martyr*, whom we this Day Commemorate, we may Charitably preſume, is now adorn'd with that *Crown of Life*, which he Purchas'd by his conſtant *Perſeverance unto Death*.

F I N I S.

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